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Aboriginal Mandan village sites had the following distinctive characteristics.

1. The circular four-post earth lodge was the most common type used for summer residence, although semirectangular lodges did occasionally occur. These lodges were closely grouped within a limited area.

2. A central open space approximately one hundred and fifty feet in diameter was reserved for the dances and ceremonies. A cedar was set into the ground at the center of the open circle and surrounded by an inclosure of wood to represent the culture hero's (NumakmaxEna) body. The inclosure was a symbol of the wall which NumakmaxEna erected to protect the people from the flood. The ceremonial lodge was on the north side of the open area and in line with the other lodges which formed the circumference of the open area. Lodge entrances of this inner circle faced to the center. The ceremonial lodge was distinguished from other lodges by its flat front and greater length than width.

3. Villages were usually either protected by a surrounding wall and ditch or so situated as to employ as defenses such natural features of the terrain as cliffs, ravines, or riverbanks.

4. Villages were, with one or two exceptions, built near the Missouri River or its tributaries and adjacent to the wooded river bottoms which were cleared for gardens.

5. Although scaffolds for the dead were erected near the villages, isolated human bones, cache burials, and secondary bundle burials occur so frequently within the older villages that we are justified in assuming that these practices were characteristic of the older culture and that scaffold disposal was of late adoption.

6. There was a marked uniformity between villages of the same age with respect to material culture.

7. The clustering of a considerable number of village sites of a single archeological focus and the absence of all other foci within the region adjacent to the Heart River indicate Mandan domination of an extensive area along the Upper Missouri.

The Mandan claim to have been divided into bands which, in large part, were broken down while living at the Heart River. These were: (1) Is'topə ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves");

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(2) Nup'tadi (no meaning); (3) Ma'nana'rE ("Those Who Quarreled"); (4) Awi'-ka-xa (no meaning); and (5) Nu'itadi ("Our People").

While living in the Heart River region, dialectic differences also existed between bands. Three major dialectic groups existed then, according to Crows Heart and Scattercorn: Nuptadi, Nuitadi, and Awigaxa. The latter group was small and was assimilated into the Nuitadi after the first smallpox epidemic. Linguistic differences between the Nuptadi and Nuitadi were recognized by Maximilian, who prepared a partial list of Mandan words of the two dialects.[1] These differences are still recognized by Mandan informants. The Nuitadi was the largest linguistic group and comprised the Nuitadi proper, the Is'topa, and the Ma'nana'rE. The latter two bands separated from the Nuptadi proper for economic reasons when the village population became too large for the further exploitation of the corn grounds.

In historic times and before coming to Fort Clark, according to Crows Heart, the Istopa and MananarE had separate villages. In addition, there were several villages of Nuitadi. The Istopa were believed to occupy the territory north of the Heart River and had as their nearest neighbors the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa, who moved there from below the Cannonball River. Their principal village was at the Motsiff site. Crows Heart's grandmother was of the Istopa band, and she was born in their village near the present town of Sanger, North Dakota.

The Mandan have been a relatively small tribe since the first smallpox epidemic which reached them before leaving the Heart River villages. Lewis and Clark reported ruins of their villages in that region in 1804, and the natives informed him that in their time nine villages were occupied simultaneously. The east-side villages united into one village and moved northward, while the west-side group united first into two villages and later into one village and moved northward along the west bank of the Missouri and settled at Fort Clark Village.

There is some inconsistency in the Mandan migration myths,

1. Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. R. G. Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906), XXIV, 259.

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778 793 614 796 trusted to the WaxikEna clan, who could take any articles left at the cedar as an offering for their own use. The amount of goods placed at the cedar during a year was considerable, since sometime during the performance of every ceremony and age-grade society dance a visit was made to the cedar to ask the blessings of Lone Man, and some article of value was placed there. In the case of strictly winter ceremonies held in the winter camp where a cedar was never erected, offerings frequently were not made to the cedar. The cedar together with the surrounding wall and willow band was called Minimi'tahEdE, meaning "the retreat of the waters."

778 614 421 In theory, goods deposited at the cedar became the property of any member of the WaxikEna clan who happened to be passing by. In practice, however, the goods finally reached the old men and women of that clan. Those appropriating too much goods for personal use lost status in the village. Those living near the cedar had an advantage over those more distantly removed in reaching the goods first. Apparently there was no tendency to take the offerings away at once. Scattercorn told how a very beautiful robe hung on the wall several days before a man removed it and then not until a number of people had gathered there and to whom he announced that he had observed that a feeble clan brother was in need of a new robe since the one he was then wearing was shabby.

621 619 778 Each fixed village unit had its own complete set of officers. Crows Heart explained that the tribe was formerly divided into a number of fixed bands, each one occupying one or more villages. His mother belonged to the Is'topa ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves"). There were also the Nuptadi, Ma'nana'rE[7] ("Those Who Quarreled"), Awigaxa,[8] and Nuitadi. Each of

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At the north side she sang:

o·ta'-nu-mą-kE masa'numąkE
mi-ka-xo' na'mini (three)
EhE'nakahoc

At the south side she sang:

ota'numąkE masa'numąkE
mikaxo' to'pa (four)
EhE'nakahoc.

7. Other informants thought that the Mananada was not a fixed band but any small group who separated from a principal village when quarrels occurred.

8. Ac- -ing to tradition, this group lived near the Grand River until late prehistoric times and did not practice the Okipa until they moved to the Painted Woods

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these groups set up a cedar whenever a new village was built. Each had its own set of officers, but the turtles originally belonged to the Nuptadi band into which the original Lone Man was once born, and it was necessary to borrow them whenever the Okipa was being performed in one of the other villages. They were the common property of the WaxikEna clan. Crows Heart explained that quarrels sometimes occurred in a village, with part of the population breaking away, but that in such instances no cedar would be erected or ceremonial lodge built until it was decided to make the village a permanent one. Scattercorn thought that the groups were stable, although a few families were always leaving one group and joining another. She thought that fission of villages was a difficult thing, as new Okipa officers would be needed.

The Mandan have a number of creation stories which were a part of the sacred myths of the bundles and their associated ceremonies. The sacred myth of the Corn ceremony relates the exploits of the Corn People, who formerly lived below the surface of the earth beside a lake before coming to the surface under the chieftainship of Good Furred Robe. The Buffalo People, who were the performers of the Okipa, were created on the earth near Heart River by Lone Man after the lands were made. In mythological times there was an earth-lodge village of hawks to the east, bears to the north, eagles and other large birds including the Sun and Moon in the sky, to mention but a few of them. The Heart River region became a meeting place of peoples of all these groups. The Corn People migrated northward and united with the Buffalo People. Other peoples were added from time to time through intermarriage and were identified according to their respective bundles. It was believed that the visions one had were dependent on the mythological group to which he belonged.

The Animal rites of the Okipa ceremony are reported to have originally belonged to the Buffalo People, who were created in the vicinity of Heart River by Lone Man and are a dramatization of the freeing of the animals from Dog Den Butte. As new groups united with them, modifications were instituted in the cere-

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region shortly before the first smallpox epidemic. Their emphasis was on corn rites instituted by Good Furred Robe while living far to the south.